/472 cont./

574 A visitor who comes to a settlement where only one family is friendly with him can expect a very different reception. He can certainly expect the welcome of his friends, /473/ but the rest of the settlement, rather than applauding him, will shout at him: "Enemy group attacking! Enemy group attacking!" And at the same time they will point at him with their bows and arrows and also point all around as if they were going to fight an attacking enemy group. Quite a chilly reception, to say the least!

• 865 When two lads become angry with each other and fight, each one must be prepared to receive a blow equal to the one which he has given. If one hits the other on the chest with the fist it is expected that the former will present his chest to the latter to receive a like blow, and so forth. The scuffle continues until one of the two considers that he has received enough and refuses to return the blow which he has just received, or until one of the two combatants really gets angry and loses his temper. Then, in general, the others intervene. Frequently, when two boys are fighting, they are encouraged to keep hitting each other until both come to wish that they had never started the fight. The boys quickly learn to be careful not to start a scuffle.

If someone maltreats a lad smaller than he, he can be sure that he will be paid back for it by one of the relatives of the little one or by some spectator.

Marriage and War

584 A matrimonial union can be arranged considerably in advance with the consent of all who are interested. A girl nine years old may already be engaged to some boy.

But more frequently the girl reaches puberty without any arrangement having been made for her future marriage. Then the suitors not only have to solicit the favor of the girl, but also that of the whole settlement where she lives. Frequently it respects the selection made by the girl and rejects the suitors whom she does not want, but the settlement might give her in marriage against her wishes.

11: Chagnon 2-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobawä, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

Fig. 3–7. Ariwari, Kaobawä's favorite son, building a male-latine house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.